1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapuka

512 L21 It is almost impossible to give an account of a typical daily economic routine for men and women. Activities vary greatly in terms of nights of the moon, conditions of tide and weather, number of members in the household and their ages, the occurrence of deaths, births, and marriages, and nowadays the day of the week. Fishing is governed almost entirely by moon and tide conditions; one day a man may fish early in the morning, the next day, late in the evening, and on a third day, he may fish all night and not at all during daylight. Deep-sea fishing is more frequent toward the end of the week, when it is necessary to lay in supplies to cover the workless day of Sunday, and just before feasts. Where there are several adult members of the household, some men fish while others gather nuts and work around the village. Where there is only one male in the household and several small children, the father is busy all the time with the most varied activities. The amount of cooking done by the woman depends on the amount of fishing done by the male members of the household, the occurrence of feasts, and the day of the week. The woman goes to her talo beds about twice a week to cultivate and to fetch talo for cooking. Cooking is simple at the beginning of the week, but for the weekly Sabbath feast much trouble is taken and cooking goes on for the most of the preceding [285] day. Wet weather is best for mat making because the pandanus elements become soft and pliable. Continued rain throughout the day sends a woman to her plaiting, no matter what else she had previously planned to do.

Organization of Work

471 226 285 The main occupations of Pukapukan economic life—fishing, house building, cultivation, canoe building, and today copra making—all require some form of cooperation, whether of a simple or complex type. The determining factors are the type of work, kinship, locality, and sex. The size of the working group depends on the importance of the event or the magnitude of the work. Deep-sea fishing, mat making, and cooking can be performed with only a simple combination of labor, that is, all workers carry out the same activities. The fishing may be simply cooperative, as when men from one or more households fish together to provide food for a prospective feast, or competitive, when the men of each village fish together as a group in competition with men from the other villages. Mat making is usually done by only one woman, but when the household supply of mats is depleted and it is necessary to make mats for a coming wedding, a woman invites her friends or relatives to participate in a small working party. Several women come together and each works on a section of the mat, or else one takes over the plaiting when the first worker tires. The workers are fed during the time they are assisting in the task.

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Deformity of the teeth was noticed in one man, about 55 years old, who possesses a double set of back teeth, presumably milk teeth and second set, growing side by side from the same gum. Two other very old men were noticed whose four front incisors inclined inward at an angle of about 45 degrees to the gum. I neglected to inquire whether this was due to accident or to the chewing of certain foods.

CARE OF THE BODY

Adults and children wash (*palupalu*) their faces with fresh water on awakening in the morning, pouring water into the palm of the hand and so applying it to the face. Adults generally do not bathe (*takele*) in the sea until evening, when they have a long bath and gossip with friends. When bathing in the sea by day, they now wear old clothes. Formerly a woman did not remove her kilt. After bathing she laid it out to dry and put on a spare one. Presumably men bathed in their malos. Today, as formerly, men and women bathe naked in the sea at night. A fresh-water rinse is taken after a sea bath when water is available. Coconut oil (*yinu*) was formerly always applied (*omoomo*) to the hair, face, and body after a bath to make the hair stand out and the skin shiny. Today it is applied only on special occasions, for it is not possible to spare coconuts to make sufficient oil for everyday use.

Delousing (*sukule na wutu*) is performed at any time by a girl for another girl or older woman, by a mother for a daughter. The lice (*wutu*) are killed by chewing. Presumably it was done for men, when they wore their hair long, by wives or other female relatives, but with their hair cut short, lice apparently present no problem to them. Small boys and some girls today have their hair cut very short as a prophylactic measure against lice and scalp infection. Grey hairs (*las ulu yina*) are sometimes pulled out of a man's head by his wife. This is termed *wuti na yina*.

Body hair (*sulusulu*) on man or woman was not removed but was considered an object of great beauty. At infrequent intervals a man removed the beard from his face by sawing at it (*sulusulu*, to scrape) with a knife of the jaw bone of the *pala* fish. Today most men shave (*sulusulu*) with a razor once a week before going to church.

Whitish blotches (*tametame*) on the skin resulting from *tinea* infection were highly prized as making the skin more beautiful. The chants contain many references to this; a lover commonly praises the number and size of the blotches on the skin of his mistress.

Bodily hygiene of infants and children is discussed elsewhere (p. 276). Adults, like children, urinate (*misi*) anywhere outside the house. Adults evacuate in the sea and clean themselves with a coconut husk or a stone and

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GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

524 / 171 / 526 The two seers, Wotoa and Te Yoa, brought back to Pukapuka some games they learned in the Underworld (p. 327). Pukapukan navigators to the eastern and western islands, notably the chief Wue, introduced the remainder of the games played in Pukapuka. A series of 48 string figures (3) collected in the field is not included in the following descriptions of amusements.

857 / 512 Organized plays, dancing, and singing, have a large part in the life of children (2), especially in the evening when they play together on the beaches, watched by the adults who move to the beach to cool off in the evening breezes.

536 / 527 Dramatizations of selected native traditions and dramatic performances of Biblical legends are popular. These are now held on May Day; formerly they were probably associated with the festivities marking the morning rising of the Pleiades. Each village chooses one or more legends for performance. These are rehearsed for some weeks and then presented in turn before the island assembled. The programs follow in general those described by Buck (29, pp. 198-203).

CHILDREN'S GAMES

526 *Kio*, played in the lagoon, on land, or in the trees. Two equal teams (*tuka*) of children line up and face each other in the lagoon. One team occupies deep water, standing on a coral rock (*toka*). The other team is in shallower water. The deep water team dives from the rock, and, by swimming under water, tries to pass the line of defense of the inland team without being caught. Each member of the deep water team that gets past the inland team scores a point (*kai*) for its side, ten points giving a win (*to te siu*). The teams take turns at defense and challenging positions until one team wins. In land *kio*, the teams stand about 15 yards apart, one team trying to run round or through the other's defenses. In tree *kio*, which is uncommon, one team defends a position in front of a tree, through which the other team must go to climb into the tree.

Wai (playing) *kio*. One player, usually self-nominated, is *kio* (it). He stands still while each of the other players comes up, hits him on the head with the hand, and runs away. When all have hit him, *kio* takes up the chase, which continues until he has caught and whipped each of the players.

Wakatau nana (hide and seek). A favorite in the evening when it is not easy to see. Two teams are formed and one goes off to hide. The other team gives it a few minutes' grace, and then announces, "Ka uhi!" (We shall search!) If after a thorough search they fail to find hidden players, they call out, "Wakayuyu" (literally, get wet). Then those of the hiding team who have not been discovered walk in, scoring one point (*kai*) each. The two teams take turns at hiding and searching, the first team to score ten successfully hidden members wins the contest. With this victory goes the privilege of whipping the members of the losing team. These whippings are never severe; a gentle clip on the head or back with hand or stick suffices.

Wai atua moana (old name, playing spirit of the sea) or *wai Levi* (modern name, playing the seer Levi). Played on bright moonlight nights by small children, older girls, and grown women, of ages ranging from 5 to 40 years. Two circles (*uwaa*) are drawn about 50 feet apart. One player, usually the oldest, takes the role of Leweke (the old name, a god), or of Levi (the modern name). He stands in one circle, all the